

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 751

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY FROM BUFFUM

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR UNSC CY GR
SUBJ: CYPRUS IN SC: BUFFUM-CARAYANNIS DISCUSSION

SUMMARY: IN MARCH 10 DISCUSSION WITH ASST. SECRETARY BUFFUM, GREEK PERM REP CARAYANNIS INDICATED HE AND BITSIOS HAD ABOUT COME TO END OF THEIR PATIENCE WITH WHAT THEY SEE AS TURKS' TOTAL UNWILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE ON SC RESOLUTION. LAST STRAW WAS GOT UNWILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER NEGOTIATIONS UNDER SYG "DIRECTION" INSTEAD OF "CHAIRMANSHIP"---AN ALTERNATIVE SUGGESTED BY BOTH USG AND SYG. CARAYANNIS CALLED BUFFUM IN AFTERNOON TO SAY BITSIOS WAS INSISTING SC MEET MORNING, TUESDAY, MARCH 11, END SUMMARY.

1. BUFFUM OPENED DISCUSSION AT NOON BY SAYING US STRONGLY BELIEVED IT MAKES NO SENSE TO PUSH THROUGH A RESOLUTION THAT ONE OF THE PARTIES WILL NOT COMPLY WITH.

CARAYANNIS SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FROM BISTSIOS THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD SAID US WOULD "GO ALONG WITH" DRAFT RESOLUTION AND STATEMENT IN THEIR MARCH 8 FORM. BUFFUM SAID THIS WAS NOT CORRECT INTERPRETATION OF SECRETARY'S MEANING. SECRETARY HAD SAID US WOULD NOT OBSTRUCT, I.E. VETO, SUCH
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A RESOLUTION, BUT NEVERTHELESS BELIEVED IT VERY UNWISE FOR

COUNCIL TO ADOPT RESOLUTION THAT IT KNEW WOULD NOT BE IMPLEMENTED.

2. CARAYANNIS SAID HE COULD IMAGINE THREE KINDS OF RESOLUTION:

A) ONE WHICH TURKEY WOULD NOT OBJECT TO, B) ONE TO WHICH TURKEY HAD SOME RESERVATIONS AND US COULD VOTE FOR, AND C) ONE TO WHICH TURKEY OBJECTED STRONGLY AND ON WHICH US WOULD ABSTAIN. OF THESE, GOG FAR PREFERRED FIRST AND SECOND ALTERNATIVES IN THAT ORDER.

3. BUFFUM SAID HE STRONGLY BELIEVED IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT SOME BROAD UMBRELLA FORMULA WHICH WOULD ACCOMMODATE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES. TURKEY OBJECTS TO INCLUDING LANGUAGE ON SYG CHAIRMANSHIP BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION TO CONCEPT OF CONTINUOUS SUPERVISION BY SYG. DEEP TURKISH SUSPICION OF UN ROLE GOES BACK TO GALLOPLAZA EXPERIENCE.

4. CARAYANNIS SAID THAT HE AND SYG HAD YESTERDAY WORKED OUT FORMULA DESCRIBING SYG ROLE AS "UNDER HIS PERSONAL DIRECTION...", BUT HE UNDERSTOOD TURKS HAD REJECTED THIS LANGUAGE. CARAYANNIS SAID WALDHEIM HAD TOLD HIM THAT ESENBEL WAS READY TO CONSIDER LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD OPEN POSSIBILITY OF SUBSTANTIVE SYG ROLE. IN FACT, SYG REPORTEDLY SAID ESENBEL HAD NO OBJECTION TO SYG PRESIDING--IT WAS ONLY THE WORD "CHAIRMANSHIP" THAT HAD BECOME AN ISSUE. THIS PARTICULAR WORD, ESENBEL REPORTEDLY TOLD SYG, WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THROUGH TURKISH PARLIAMENT AND OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES.

5. EVEN THOUGH ANKARA HAD REJECTED "DIRECTION" COMPROMISE, CARAYANNIS SAID HE WAS WILLING TO COOPERATE IF SUBSTANCE REMAINED THE SAME, WHICH GREEK VIEW MEANT "THE PERSONAL PRESENCE OF THE SYG." CARAYANNIS EMPHASIZED THAT ONE FUNDAMENTAL GREEK REQUIREMENT WAS REFERENCE IN SC PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT TO NEW YORK AS MOST PRACTICAL VENUE FOR TALKS.

6. SAYING HE STILL BELIEVED IT POSSIBLE TO COME UP WITH A PHRASE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES, BUFFUM SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF "CLOSE PERSONAL EFFORTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF SYG." CARAYANNIS

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SAID DIFFICULTY WITH THAT WAS THAT IT DID NOT IMPLY SYG'S CONTINUOUS INVOLVEMENT IN NEGOTIATIONS. CARAYANNIS THEN SUGGESTED FORMULA, "NEGOTIATIONS CARRIED OUT UNDER HIM PERSONALLY." SINCE THIS LANGUAGE SEEMED TO IMPLY TOO MUCH SUPERVISION FOR TURKISH TASTE, WAS SUGGESTED POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE OF "WITH THE SYG'S CLOSE PERSONAL GUIDANCE."

7 CARAYANNIS CALLED BUFFUM AT 2 P.M. TO REPORT ON PHONE

CALL HE HAD WITH BITSIOS AFTER OUR MORNING'S MEETING.
HE SAID BITSIOS IS "FURIOUS" AT TURK CONSTANT BACKSLIDING
ON RESOLUTION AND THEIR REJECTION OF PHRASE "UNDER DIRECTION
OF SYG" AS PROPOSED INDEPENDENTLY BY BOTH WALDHEIM AND US.
HE POINTED OUT SERIES OF CONCESSIONS ALREADY MADE BY GREEKS
AND CYPRIOTS INCLUDING ABANDONMENT OF ADDING NEUTRAL NATIONS TO
NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK. BITSIOS INSTRUCTED HIM TO INSIST ON VOTE
TOMORROW (TUESDAY) A.M. WHETHER OR NOT AGREEMENT REACHED WITH
TURKS. CARAYANNIS SAID GREECE PREFERS TO PROCEED ON BASIS OF
TURKISH ACCEPTANCE OF TEXT, BUT WILL GO AHEAD WITHOUT THEM
IF NECESSARY, LETTING TURKS SUFFER OPPROBRIUM OF INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY IF THEY REJECT.

8. HE ADDED THAT GREECE INTENDED TO HOLD U.S. TO COMMITMENT
MADE BY SECRETARY THAT WE WOULD NOT OBSTRUCT ADOPTION OF
RESOLUTION IF THEY AGREED TO DELAY VOTE UNTIL TUESDAY.

9. CARAYANNIS SAID HE TRIED OUT PHRASE "WITH GUIDANCE OF
SYG" ON BITSIOS AND WAS REBUFFED.

10. AMB. KUBISCH TELEPHONED BUFFUM FROM ATHEMS AT 3 P.M. NEW YORK
TIME AND CONFIRMED SUBSTANCE OF FOREGOING. HOWEVER, KUBISCH
REPORTED HELPFUL ADDITIONAL DETAIL, NAMELY THAT BITSIOS SAID
AS ULTIMATE FALLBACK GREECE WOULD ACCEPT "UNDER HIM" IN LIEU
OF "UNDER DIRECTION OF SYG."

11. AS NEXT STEP BUFFUM WILL TRY OUT PHRASE "UNDER HIM" ON
TURKISH AMBASSADOR BUT WILL NOT REPEAT NOT INDICATE WE HAVE
ANY HINT GREEKS MIGHT ACCEPT IT. THIS CONVERSATION FOLLOWS
IN SEPTTEL.
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